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EDITOR'S NOTE

000 This number of Bantu Studies contains contributions from three members of the University of the Witwatersrand dealing with different aspects of the Korana Hottentots of the Western Transvaal. Professor [114] L. F. Maingard, Head of the Department of French and Romance Philology, has dealt with the History, Customs and Language; his son, J. F. Maingard, from the Medical School, has dealt with the Physical Characteristics of the people; while Professor P. R. Kirby, Head of the Department of Music, has contributed a section dealing with his special subject. The production of such a number as this well illustrates the value of team work in field research. Professor Kirby is responsible for the photographs, and Mr. S. P. Jackson, Lecturer in the Department of Geography, prepared the map. The spelling *Korana* has been retained throughout as the most convenient one for English readers.

128 The following abbreviations have been used in footnotes in the various articles :—

Arbousset and Daumas=Relation d'un voyage, etc. (Paris, 1842).

B.C.=Report of the Bloemhof Commission.

B.M.B. *or* B.M.J.=Berliner Missions Berichte or Jahresberichte.

Bas. Rec.=Basutoland Records (3 volumes, Cape Town, 1883).

Broadbent=A Narrative of the first introduction of Christianity among the Barolong (London 1865).

Burchell=Travels in the interior of South Africa (London 1822).

Campbell, 1813=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (1st journey, London, 1813).

Campbell, 1820=Campbell, Travels in South Africa (2nd journey, 2 volumes, London 1820).

G.M.=Godée-Molesbergen, Reizen in Zuid-Afrika (3 volumes, 'S-Gravenhage, 1916),

Md. *or* Moodie=The Record (Cape Town 1838).

R.W.M.M.S.=Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

W.M.N.=Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

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THE CORANNA

Fast by his wild resounding river
The listless Coran lingers ever;
Still drives his heifers forth to feed,
Soothed by the Gorrah's humming reed;
A rover still unchecked will range,
As humour calls or seasons change;
His tents of mats and leathern gear
Are packed upon the patient steer.
'Mid all his wanderings hating toil,
He never tills the stubborn soil;
But on the milky dams relies,
And what spontaneous earth supplies.
Should some long parching droughts prevail
And milk and bulbs and locusts fail,
He lays him down to sleep away
In languid trance the weary day;
Oft as he feels gaunt hunger's stound,
Still tightening famine's girdle round;
Lulled by the sound of the Gareep,
Beneath the willows murmuring deep;
Till thunder-clouds surcharged with rain
Pour o'erdue o'er the panting plain,
And call the famished dreamer from his trance,
To feed on milk and game, and wake the moonlight dance.

THOMAS PRINGLE.
(1828.)

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STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.Lit.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[101] 114 The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of those ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[161] The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

121 Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the Africana

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121 of the Gubbins Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lefevre, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Motseleng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

123 161 177 My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

115 I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabak*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1853) a man of about seventy or eighty; *Tetak*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul* was *Esk*, the son of *Willem*, the Catechist of Rev. Bruce of the Seven Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabak*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Jali*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, silent through age, and old *Dank*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Dank* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Khois*, the wife of *Tabak*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Gonis* and *Mois*, two very old, wrinkled

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specimens of their sex, and *Meti's* younger, very much younger sister, *Ile* were of great use in reviving the sometimes failing memories of their menfolk, in giving full details of the *Ikabab* ceremony and in playing the musical instruments peculiar to their sex. 115

The younger generations included *!Goko tʃau* (Piet Kruel, 32), *Tsi.ta*, the son of *Tatab*; *!Katsi*, a man of mixed Griqua and Kora descent, the son-in-law of old *Tabab*; his wife, *Ovar* and *Ehis* her sister; *Igaube*, the twenty-two year-old daughter of *Ile*, and *Kwabaabi*, *!Katsi* and Piet Kruel have a large family of young sons and daughters.

Both *Tsi.ta* and *!Katsi* work for very small wages in town. The old men, as the Magistrate of Bloemhof informed me, have small pensions. They seem very poor. In fact, it is a wonder to me how they live, in the location, when they have to pay small rentals to the Village Management Committee for the site on which their mud brick little "pondokkies" stand. They seem to feel unhappy in that restricted space. For a number of years they tried hard to regain possession of the Saltpan. *Tatab* showed me a mass of correspondence in which Hermanus Linke, their late chief, engaged with a Kimberley lawyer for that purpose. Even a petition was sent to the Governor at the Cape. But in vain. 115 511

The older women seemed fairly busy with their household duties, cooking the scant family meal in modern iron pots, which have replaced the old clay *mabi*, on the smoky wood fires outside. They no longer have to milk the cows as their ancestors did when they came home in the evening; nor do the old men, as in the days of their youth, spend their time in hunting and seeking new pastures for their cattle and sheep. Unable to adapt themselves to the new ways of life, and too old to work, they seem to lead an aimless life, reminding one of Tennyson's Lotus Eaters,

> "Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil. . . .
> "Oh! rest, ye brother mariners, ye will not wander more."
>
> • • • • •

I searched the district for more Koranas. There is a very small number living at Christiana. I motored to Schweizer Reneke—the old Mamusa,—where I discovered a very old man, *Kras*, who had almost forgotten his language, his son and wife and a small family; and another very old man, *Sabibi*, who told me about the battle between David Mamoor and the Dutch in 1883. They vaguely said that there might be a few stray Koranas working on the farms in the neighbourhood. At Wolmaransstad which I visited this last May, through the kindness of Mr. Thomas S. 115

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115 Lesuk, I discovered */Kwakje* at Wepoort. He informed me that he was the only one of his kind living in the neighbourhood. He appeared to be a man of between forty to fifty and spoke his language still fairly fluently.

At Sheppard Island, some ten miles on the Vaal River, above Bloemhof, I met Abraham Links, a young fellow of about twenty, closely related to the Korana at the location. He motioned to Verlaaten Kraal to the east, where he said there were a couple of Korana women, with a few children. I could find no more Korana. Truly, a race that has nearly disappeared.

II. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGINS

127 In the Cape Town of the early Dutch settlement, and especially in official quarters, there had been a great deal of curiosity and interest about the vast expanse of the unknown North, an interest and curiosity awakened by the fabulous tales of the wealth and culture of the far-famed Monomotapa and of the great Northern river, which had fallen from the lips of old Herry, the fascinating Eva and other Hottentots in the entourage of Van Riebeeck, and quickened by the expeditions into Namaqualand and further north. Nothing worth discovering had been found, but the official explorers of the XVIIIth century—Hop, Mentzel and Boon, etc.,—had succeeded in reaching the lower Orange River and penetrating, beyond it, into the country of the Great Namaqua.

It was, however, not until 1779 that the veil was lifted from the still mysterious regions of the Upper Orange River and the life of the unsuspected Korana tribes in those remote districts disclosed to Baron Joachim van Plettenberg by Heinrich Jacob Wikar, who had "absented" himself from his post of scribe in the Company's service and who had for two years wandered along the banks of the Great River. He had travelled in 1778 and 1779 as far as what is probably the modern Prieska, and had come into contact with the Kuringais and had learnt of the existence further east of the Koi *or Great Korana, bounded towards the* north by the marvellous Briqua or, as we call them nowadays, the Bechuana.

How came these Hottentots to be located there? Had they wandered from the centre of the African Continent through the vast and waterless Kalahari or along its more fertile borders as far as the Orange River, in prehistoric times, or had they migrated from the south, break-

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ing away from the main body of the Hottentots that had settled on the west and south coasts of South Africa? Wikar, alert observer though he was, does not seem to have troubled himself with these questions, for he records no evidence that might have solved them.

Of the subsequent travellers of the early times who visited the Korana—Truter and Somerville (1801), with their Secretary Borcherds, Lichtenstein (1805), show the same lack of curiosity as Wikar. Even the all-observing and accurate Burchell, (1811-2), is silent on this problem. We must come down to Rev. Campbell, of the London Missionary Society, to find a passing and indirect reference to our questions. He records the words of Cornelius Kok, the Bastard leader, who was in an exceptional position to know, as he came from the Western Province and Namaqualand, that "he had never heard of individuals of that nation living within the limits of the Colony."[1]

As we might expect, we can find no documentary evidence here. But the Korana themselves, like the other Native tribes of South Africa, have preserved traditions on the subject of their original home, which have been recorded for us by the early travellers and missionaries, or are to be unearthed from the Blue Books or other official publications. But it is well to be on our guard against accepting traditions, thus collected, wholesale and without due criticism, if we are to found definite conclusions on the evidence they may afford. First, the unreliability of popular traditions in matters of detail is notorious: a succession of distinct and separate historical events are found telescoped into a shorter series, thus abolishing the adequate notion of time; deeds performed by a multitude of heroes are ascribed to one commanding personality; the strict historic sequence of events is inverted; a more serious handicap—the Native mind has no conception of our calendar dates or of the stricter divisions of time. He does not count in years, but by generations, generally taken to be equal to thirty or twenty-five years by European interpreters. These are some of the well-known vagaries of popular tradition.

In the second place, in the very early times the hasty traveller collected what he could and, not being necessarily trained in the stricter methods of research, was not always too critical. Leading questions to Natives always produce the desired answer and it is easy to overlay Native traditions with false colours, if the collector is unwary. Reliance on interpreters, where ignorance of the Native language makes it necessary, may be another source of the perversion of the evidence. All these

[1] Campbell, 1820. II. p. 260.

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127 difficulties had to be pointed out, before coming to a statement and an analysis of the traditions that concern us here.

173 One body of traditions on the origin of the Korana contains a few discordant elements, but agrees in the main, namely that of the Taaibosch tribe, from which we possess three versions, one from Hanto, chief of the Umpukani Korana, and two—separated by a year's distance—from Mannow Rijt Taaibosch, the great chief of the Mamusa branch.

115 173 Hanto was one of the original Korana of the Great Orange River. He had come from Ramah, on the Orange River, with his tribe, first to Tsunga, then to Platberg, and in the company of the Barolong of Moroko and the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell, had migrated finally to Umpukani, near Thaba 'Nchu in the Free State. There, in April 1836, Arbousset and Daumas, of the "Missions Evangéliques de Paris," found him and used him as their principal informant, for, being a chief, he was the principal repository of the historical lore of his tribe, and as an intelligent man, he could give them a clear account. This was the story:

173 *Kwa*, the ancestral chief of the tribe, was the origin of the name *Korana*. He had lived, with his tribe, about eight generations ago, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and had ceded to the first white settlers, such portion of his territory "as could be covered by a skin cut into riems." His son, Elkorso, who succeeded him, (for Kwa died young), was so hard pressed by the intrusion of more colonists, that he had to retreat to the Brak River (presumably the tributary of that name which flows from the S.E. into the Orange River). There he met a tribe of Bushmen from whom he obtained, by treaty, the lands around Griqua-Town.[1]

115 173 In February 1869—thirty-three years after—at a gathering of the Native tribes of the Western Transvaal summoned at Wegeboom near Christiana by President M. W. Pretorius, Mannow Rijt Taaibosch gave his version of the coming of the Korana.[2] He was then the Grand Old [illegible], being over 100 years of age, according to his own testimony, and had therefore had the opportunity of hearing the talk of the older generations, in whose minds the memory of the old deeds of the tribe were still fresh, as they were nearer the events they were relating. Further, the telling of the story is authenticated by the judicial character

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[1] Arbousset and Daumas, p. 49-50.

[2] The second version is to be found in *Lindley-Adventures*, p. 10-12. It will not be given here, as it is of minor importance.

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of the occasion—a judicial commission, in the presence of an assembly of Native chiefs who were all allowed freely to give their evidence. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, added to the picturesqueness of the details and the almost inaccessible nature of the documents in which they are imbedded (the Bloemhof Commission Blue Book exists in only a few printed copies), make it well worth quoting in full the very words of the old Korana chief: "Massow says, he came from Cape Town; that the white people had come there from beyond the sea, and had asked for a small piece of ground. Our captain was called Khors. The white men asked for a piece of ground of the size of an oxhide, which they cut to riems. Then they told the Hottentots to pull out the riems, the end of which they fastened to a cannon, saying they (the Hottentots) might keep the copper if they did draw it away. When the Hottentots did pull on, the Whites fired the cannon, thereby killing the men that were drawing it. They thought they were struck by lightning. They then fled to Hottentots' Holland Mountain and thence we dispersed. Hottentot and Korannas are the children of one father. The Hottentots remained there and the Korannas came up to this side. The Hottentots then asked the Korannas to re-unite, but they would not. The Hottentots then sent their women to be married to the Korannas, but the latter would not do so. The Hottentots are the elder. The Korannas went on to this side of Nieuwveld, Cape Colony, near the Spitskop, called T'Koup. Then they came below Great River and having crossed the drift called Kornaar (or Zanddrift)."[8]

Here are seemingly no discrepancies, for the geographical data can easily be reconciled, in fact, in this respect, the two versions supplement each other,—for the route followed by the "trek" would then be from Cape Town to the Ghoup (that is the beginning of the Karoo), through the Nieuwveld range of mountains, then to Spitzkop, then up the course of the Great Brak River and thus to the south banks of the Orange River at Zanddrift. It would then seem that this part of the early history of the Korana is decisively settled, and for all time.

One comment, however, yet another version, that collected by Rev. John Edwards, who was fluent in Dutch, the sacred language of the Korana, who had lived among them as a missionary and had their sympathy and knew the selfsame Hanto whom he calls by his Dutch name of Jan Kapstin or Jan Tasibosch,[9] and from whom he most probably learnt that "the Korana came originally from Namaqualand

[8] B. C. p. 190.

[9] See Appendix on Genealogical lists.

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173 .... They emigrated to this country under a leader or chief named Kora; hence the people were called Koranas."[6]

There is yet a further tradition current this time among the Springbok tribe, which resided then at the Berlin Missionary Station of Pniel, near Kimberley. It has been reported by Rev. Meyfarth, who was then in charge of the station: "The oldest Korana now living are in complete agreement in relating that their fathers have come from the south along the sea coast from the Colony" and he adds what seems his inference: "the Korana people probably lived in the west or north-west of the present Cape Colony, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present-day stations of Ebenezer and Kommagas."[7] Here we find embodied in these two versions, a line of migration entirely different from that vouched for by Hanto and Masaow—namely, along the western coastline, for it may be taken that the Namaqualand of Rev. Edwards corresponds to the Little Namaqualand of Brother Meyfarth. There are then, not one but two possible routes along which these migrations could have taken place.

127 But is there any evidence of the presence of the Korana in Cape Town at the time of the arrival of the first White settlers, as apart from the Korana traditions? If they were ever there in those days, there should be ample reference to them in the early records of the Portuguese or the Dutch. For our purpose, the accounts of the Portuguese can be neglected, as their visits on the coast of South Africa were occasional, merely to obtain refreshments, and without any intention of permanent colonisation. Besides, they do not name any Hottentot tribes by tribal name and the same may be said of the English travellers like Herbert.

But it is a matter of common history that the first definite settlement at the Cape was made by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, and his *Dagverhaal* containing almost daily references to his relations with the various Hottentot tribes: the *Gorinhaiquas* or the Caepman, the *Gorachquas*, or tobacco thieves, and the *Cochoquas*, or the Saldanhars, who lived in his immediate neighbourhood.[8] Of these, first the ancestors of the *Gorachquas*, whose chief was *Goro* or *Choro*, according to the spelling of the Dagverhaal, are the ancestors of the modern Korana, on what seems to be somewhat slender grounds. He seems to have been content with drawing his information from *Arbousset*, corroborating it with vague

[6] *Fifty years in South Africa*, p. 110.
[7] R. M. R. 1890, p. 512.
[8] For a full discussion, see my study "The Late Tribes of the Cape," *S.A. Journal of Science*, 1932, p. 489 ff.

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stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chouwa*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriy ||ai*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Gorinhaiqua* (=*!Kuriy ||aikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Capeman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's arguments, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. passim

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173 1. The date given by *Hanto* involves inherent difficulties. Starting from 1836,—the year in which the information was obtained—the eight generations, each of a minimum of twenty-five years, carry us back to 1636-1661, as the first generation, so that van Riebeeck's landing (1652) would fall within it. The "trek" of *Eikomo* would be approximately in the period 1661-1686 and the first settlement of the Korana at Griquatown somewhere about 1686,—two impossible dates, as there is distinct evidence that the *Chorachoqua* and the *Goringhaiqua* (or alternatively the Tobacco Thieves and the Caepmans) were living at the Cape as late as 1690.[12]

2. Again, the genealogical lists given by *Hanto* and by *Massow Rijt Taaibosch* are capable of a quite different interpretation than that given by Arbousset and Stow, and a new one will be attempted elsewhere in this study, which would undoubtedly upset the period of eight generations.[13]

127 3. There is nowhere in the official documents any confirmation of the "riem" episode which may, however, be dismissed here as a mere embellishment. There was, however, an actual agreement dated April 19th, 1672, by which Schacher, the chief of the *Goringhaiquas* ceded to the Dutch East India Company the tract of land comprising the Cape Peninsula. This date would fall within the first generation, while the facts actually recorded shew not *Kora* or *Eikomo* but *Schacher* as responsible for the cession.[14]

4. The official records make no mention of the "trek" of the *Gorachoquas*, but before the beginning of the 18th Century, however, it was the official practice of the Government Secretariat to designate the Hottentots no longer by their tribal name but by the Dutch names of their chiefs.[15]

173 5. There is a last tradition which entirely traverses all those of which we have spoken already. In 1858 the Rev Carl Frederich Wurst collected from a very old Kora "near 100 years of age. . . a tradition that in ancient times the whole nation of Hottentots lived close together along the banks of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Their chief settlement called "*Chei ǂan ǂaub*" was not far from the junction of the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. But in consequence of a great quarrel which arose amongst

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12 Moodie I. 445.
13 See genealogical lists further on.
14 Md. I. p. 318.
15 See "The *Lost Tribes of the Cape*," p. 498-499.

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them, they divided. One part of their nation went in the direction of Cape Town and settled there; another part went down the Orange River, and the Korana, the greatest and richest tribe, remained."[16] 173

This is very important testimony, because Rev. Wuras had lived among the Korana of the "Right Hand" tribe at Bethany for twenty-two years (1836-58). He had been the chief missionary at that Berlin Missionary Station. He had lived in close sympathy with them and had earned their confidence, not only by speaking their own Korana language fluently, but by many acts of kindness and of help in the defence of their land. He was in a better position than any man to obtain the correct information. His informant—unfortunately nameless—had been born about 1758, that is, if there had been a great "trek" from the Cape in the early 18th century, the memory of it would still have been alive among the generation preceding him and there might conceivably have been some of the original trekkers still surviving in his early boyhood to tell him the tale. At any rate, his testimony dates as far back as that of Massow Rijt Taaibosch.

In the welter of confusion that springs from all these traditions,— confusion of dates, confusion of geographical routes, confusion of personalities involved,—it was very difficult to come to any definite conclusion, and I thought that, by appealing to yet another Korana tribe, the "Links" or "Left Hand" tribe, I could clear up all these doubts and difficulties. Therefore, with anxious anticipation, I questioned the oldest among them, not with leading questions, for I would have had my answer that they came from Cape Town, but carefully and picking my way through all their falterings and lapses of memory, I questioned again and again. But in vain, for *Matiti*, *Teteb*, *Tabab*, all gave the same answer, that they came "from the quarter of the rising sun and then from the quarter of the setting sun, always along the sea-shore, until they reached the Great River which they followed up." 124 173

Indeed, we may sympathise with Peter Kolb, the good schoolmaster of Ayach, when, in his third letter of the second part of his *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum*, etc., sorely pressing his memory as to where the *Chuvachoquas* had gone,[17] he laments over the loss of his manuscripts. Had we possessed this information, our difficulty,—the exact location of the Korana in beginning of the 18th century—might have been solved. 127

16 *Bantu Studies*, Vol. iii. p. 290.
17 Op. cit. p. 391. col. 2 [1st. German edition—1719.]

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174 It may, however, be that the Korana tribes trickled on to the Orange River in small sections and that different tribes took different routes. In any case one definite conclusion emerges from a review of this mass of conflicting evidence, that, whether the Korana migrated from the Cape to the Orange River or from the Orange River to the Cape, the essential identity of the tribes cannot be a matter of doubt and that there exists between these two groups a closer relationship than between either of them and the Nama.

III. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KORANA

175 Those who are satisfied with Stow, to conclude, on the evidence adduced in the previous section, that the Korana were living at the Cape in the early days of the Dutch occupation, will turn naturally to the standard works of Theal, Walker and others for this early part of the history of South Africa. For those, on the other hand, who still maintain that the evidence is too slender or too conflicting to come to any definite conclusion, the history of that branch of the Hottentot nation must begin with their discovery on the Orange River.

173 On the very threshold of their history, there is a tradition of a great fight among the Korana and the Barolong. The old chief Massow has given a very circumstantial account of this great struggle at the Witgatboom meeting in February 1869: "Thereupon Thow, who lived at Touna, made up a commando against the Korannas. When his commando arrived at the outposts of the Korannas, some people said it was a pleasure trip, others that it was a commando. The Korannas were at the other side of the Great River, and made up their mind to hand their slaughter sheep to Thow in token of friendliness. Then the Kafirs broke their assegais and concealed them under their karrosses. They asked the Korannas who their captain was. The Korannas then went through the river to the Kafirs. They were the great-grandfathers of Massow and Gert Links. When they were there, the Kafirs stabbed Massow's great-grandfather. The Korannas fled through the river, for they were unarmed. Massow's great-grandfather died in the river from the wounds he received. Gert Links's great-grandfather escaped. The Korana women brought bows and arrows to the men, who took them. The whole of the Kafirs that pursued the Korannas were shot down in the river. Thow was not killed. He fled with his people, and they were scattered about. The Korannas pursued the Kafirs, and almost exterminated them altogether. But Thow survived. Thereupon the Koran-

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nas made up a commando against Thow, and fought them at his werf and killed many of them. The Kafirs desired to know what it was that killed a man and looked like a thorn. The Koranna commando returned and Thow subsequently fell sick and died, whereupon the Korannas again made up a commando and the Kafirs resolved to escape to Sitlagollo, south of Malopo. This is the spot where the Transvaal commando fought against Monsheos in 1852. At that time the Batlapins and Barolongs did not live together. The Korannas then took Touns and the land of Thow, who was the great chief of the Kafirs."[6]

Another shorter version which Massow himself repeated in a document of November 1870,[7] is substantially the same. It, however, contains one or two important variants. Klaarwater, the present Griquatown, is the scene of *Tau's* treachery, and not the Orange River, which apparently the Korana had already crossed in this version. A more serious discrepancy is that here it is Massow's grandfather and not his great-grandfather who is murdered. The place of the next encounters between Korana and Barolong, is, more precisely, Taungs itself where, we are told, four battles were fought before *Tau* died and before the Barolong were driven to Setlagoli.

If the genealogies given by McKenzie[8] and by Molema[9] are to be trusted,—and they were confirmed by the deposition of Mooi at the Bloemhof Commission,[4] in respect of the number of three generations from *Tau* to Sifonello, the date of whose death is known to be 1829,—*Tau* reigned some time in the middle of the 18th century, and that would place the battle between him and the Korana before 1750.

There is, however, no trace of these wars in the first European historian of the Korana, J. H. Wikar.[5] He had been among the Korana in the second half of the 18th century, in 1778-9, and he gives a very detailed picture of the Hottentot communities and of their activities on the Orange River. There it runs through miles of desolate country, and a desert of red sand extends right up to its banks. Beyond the Great Falls, between Kakamas and Upington,—a distance of 36 miles—there is a broad stretch of the river about two miles in width, where the water runs in innumerable channels, encircling islands large and small, over-

[6] B. C. p. 290.
[7] Lindley-Adamantia, p. 10-11.
[8] McKenzie, *Austral Africa*. I. p. 56.
[9] Molema. *The Bantu*, p. 48.
[4] B. C. p. 156.
[5] G. M. JL. p. 76-158.

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175 grown with thick, and in some places, impenetrable bush, with a fringe of over-hanging willow trees on the water's edge. In these islands were the homes of the "Eynikoa" or River Folk, the "Namnykoa," the "Kaukoa," the "Aukokoa," stretching from island to island in six kraals of ninety-six huts altogether, that is, from 400 to 500 inhabitants, with large flocks of sheep and many cattle.

Beyond Upingtos, at the point where the river bends in a south-easterly direction, were the "Gysikoa," a mixed race of "Brikwa" (Bechuana) and Hottentots with the typical appearance of the Bantu, tall and blacker than the latter, and who looked upon themselves as Bechuana although they spoke both SeChwana and Korana. Thus far Wikar had not met the real Korana whom he distinguishes carefully from the first two groups. Approximately near the modern Kheis, he found the first of them, the Kouringais, with their forty-nine huts lying in a beautiful valley, under their chief, Soenop.[6] Then came the Husinghais, a very strong tribe rich in cattle.[7] Here ended Wikar's personal knowledge. As to the great or "Kay Korakkoa," he had heard of them, of their power, of their six large kraals and of their situation, extending as far as where the Orange River splits into two branches, "like the fingers of the two hands," that is, where the Vaal joins it.

This last piece ofinformation definitely shows that the *Kei !Korana*, who shall be met later as the Taaibosch tribe, had not yet in 1779 migrated further north, nor could they have been then as in later years in occupation of Taungs. One other point supports the view that there had not been as yet any decisive victory of the Korana tribes over the Barolong. Wikar tells us of the inferiority of the Bechuana as fighters, armed as they were merely with assegais. The Hottentots with their bows and arrows, would have got the better of them, were it not for their fear of Bechuana witchcraft. Wikar also puts on record that, in a cattle-stealing foray, the forefathers of the Korana had been bewitched and killed to a man by the assegais of the Bechuana.[8]

Thus it is clear that some time before Wikar's visit, the Hottentots had had a fight with the Bechuana, but the rest of the story renders improbable the alleged victory over *Taus*, or any victory at all over the Barolong in the early days of the Korana on the Orange River.

Wikar also stresses the peaceful relations of the Korana and the Bechuana in his time. Annually, the Bechuana came down from their

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[6] G. M. II. p. 126.
[7] G. M. II. p. 128.
[8] G. M. II. p. 122.

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country four days further north to the tribes living on the River to barter their wares, " pots, spoons, assegais, ornaments, etc." They had even a fixed tariff, according to which they exchanged these commodities for the cattle of the Hottentots,—a fact which proves that the practice was of long standing.[9] 175

At a later date, probably a decade after Wikar's visit, the two races do not seem to have enjoyed the same amity. About 1790 there was a series of petty wars and a good deal of cattle stealing. The Batlaping, the southernmost of the Bechuana tribes, suffered almost complete ruin. They were living then on the banks of the Nokanna, a northern tributary of the Orange River, which it meets at Kheis, and the adjoining Langebergen, the southernmost point reached by any of the Bechuana tribes, and from this part of the country were they driven by the attacks of the Korana as far north as Kuruman, which was to become their principal centre for many years after.[10]

It is not certain whether these wars had any connection with Jan Bloem. A Prussian by birth and a " desperado," as he has been aptly called, he had to flee the country, in the last part of the 18th century, on account of the murder of his wife.[11] His son, also Jan Bloem by name, gave the meeting at Witgatboom a very full record of his wanderings,[12] which is important, because, in the first place, it provides a very graphic picture of the adventurer's life in those romantic days, and because, in the second place, it helps us to fix, approximately at any rate, the date of the migration of some of the Korana tribes further north.

On his arrival on the Orange River, Jan Bloem the elder settled for some time near the Langebergen, when he married several Korana wives and appears to have become the head of the Springbok tribe of Korana. He next moved to Blinkklip, or to be more accurate with Lichtenstein and Campbell, to the place which still perpetuates his name, Jan Bloem's Fontein, two miles north of Blinkklip, whence, after gathering a motley crowd of Korana, Bechuana and Bushmen, he began a series of wars against " the black nations."[9] The advantage, which the use of firearms gave him, soon made him the terror of the district. His attack on Kuruman, which took place a few years before Truter and

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[9] G. M. II. pp. 121; 122, p. 126.

[10] Campbell, 1820, I. p. 80; 88; II. p. 171; 185; 188-190.

[11] Jahresbericht of Berlin Missionary Society, 1843, p. 30-31; Campbell 1813, p. 378-379. He makes a mistake confusing the father and the son. Stow's account of Jan Bloem, pp. 290-1, is a mere verbatim copy of Campbell.

[12] B. C. Deposition of his own son, (p. 293-294), who accompanied him in his wanderings, for he " had then already ears and eyes."

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175 Somerville's visit in 1801, reduced the Batlaping to almost complete ruin. Threatened by Cornelius Kok, another Bastard chief, he finally trekked higher up to Lekatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, where—the testimony of Jan Bloem proves it—he found no Korana. In this neighbourhood, to use the picturesque words of the son, his " father sowed " for two years in succession.

From the headquarters at Lekatlong, cattle forays were continued in the first year. The next year was busily spent in raising a commando against Makaba, the chief of the Bangwaketse, at the instigation of the Batlaping, with whom, as well as with his other enemies, he had made peace. He also visited, for this purpose, the Korana of Jan Taaibosch the elder, who had then migrated to the Harts River. This is the first mention of this tribe in that neighbourhood.

The expedition was disastrous. Very few cattle were captured, and Jan Bloem the elder only came back to die, some say by drinking the water of a well poisoned by the Bangwaketse.

The movements of this remarkable man can be dated. Campbell notes in his Journal of 1813 at Jan Bloem's Fontein : " that fountain derived its name from a person who had died about fourteen years ago,"[13] and Lichtenstein passing at the same place in 1805, says : " for there had lived ten years before a colonist of that name."[14] So we have the two extreme dates—1799, the year of his death, and 1795, the year of his stay at Blinkklip. Between them is his two years' residence at Lekatlong, in the last of which, that is, in 1798 or 1799, he met Jan Taaibosch the elder. The latter could not have been in that neighbourhood before 1799 when Jan Bloem arrived there, for " my father came in the country before the Korannas," says his son specifically. This further evidence decisively negatives a good portion of Massow's story. The old chief, we can definitely conclude, has telescoped together a series of events which it took a far greater number of years to happen.

Shortly after, the arrival of the first missionary occurred. In 1801, Rev. Anderson, of the London Missionary Society, established his first station in what is now Griqualand West. It was an event of capital importance, for it introduced new economic factors and new civilising influences. " The Corannas," he writes then, " are the most considerable people of those parts." But this was not to continue for long, for he came up, " accompanied by a number of *Bastards*."[15]

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13 Campbell, 1813, p. 168.
14 Lichtenstein, II. 342.
15 T. M. S. (1804) p. 344 and 345.

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These people were of mixed race, descended from the Dutch colonists and their Hottentot servants, who, through the northward expansion of the Colony, had been forced to the Orange River. More intelligent and more easily adaptable to European civilisation, they had, under missionary influences, taken to permanent agricultural pursuits and to a more stable form of government than the Korana. Lichtenstein, who visited with interest their numerous settlements—Laauwatersfontein, Rietfontein, Witwater, Taaiboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil and Ongeluksfontein,—was impressed by their comparatively high degree of civilisation into calling them a veritable "Hottentot republic,"[16] and Campbell, in 1813, persuaded them to change the contemptuous "Bastard" for a new name, the "Griquas."

This new element in the population of Griqualand, more advanced and more enterprising, pressed the more independent and irreductible Korana tribes further north and east and drove a wedge between them and the western tribes on the river, the "Hoogstanders," the "Spinnekop," whom we have met already, and the "Eynikoa," of Wikar, who became all confused under the name of Korana in the time of Campbell. Those of the Korana who remained among the Griqua "for the sake of protection," as Campbell puts it in 1813, ". . . . are, as nearly as can be ascertained, 1341,"[17] and they still were a considerable number, according to the returns of Waterboer, in 1845.[18] They seemed to have become assimilated into the more progressive Griqua population in the course of time.

Concerning the western Korana at the beginning of the 19th century, Campbell has left some information mainly of statistical value, but unfortunately too incomplete.[19] He had a most laborious journey from Griqualand to Pella in Namaqualand across the most dreary of countries, and saw some Korana kraals amounting to a few hundred inhabitants. He does not seem to have visited that part of the Great River, between Kakamas and Upington, which, at any rate, in Wikar's day, contained most of the population.

Of the Korana who lived at the junction of the Vaal and Orange Rivers in 1778-1779, some,—the "Right Hand" tribe and the "Sorcerers," wandered to the neighbourhood of what became afterwards the Berlin Missionary Station of Bethany, and finally settled at a later

16 Lichtenstein, II. p. 301-308.
17 Campbell, 1813, p. 256
18 B. C. p. 32-33.
19 Campbell, 1813, p. 273-299.

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175 date at Hebron, higher up the Vaal River, and the " Springboks " we have already seen near Lekatlong, with Jan Bloem.

The Taaibosch or *Kei !Korana*, the most considerable of these tribes, did not migrate from the Orange River all at once. For Burchell met at Lithakong, in July 1812, " a numerous party of Kora Hottentots . . . . from a kraal situated at a considerable distance eastward. They were conducted by the son of a *Kora* captain called *Taaibosch*. This latter was lately murdered by some Bichuanas ; and the son, whose kraal was situated on the banks of the Gariep near the English ford, was now removing his father's cattle to that place,"[20] that is, precisely the original home of the *Kei !Korana*.

In 1813, Campbell in his northern journey stopped at the kraal of the " Tybus " as he calls them, at " Malapeetze."[21] This place was in one of the kloofs leading to the Makara, the modern Dry Harts River, which joins the Harts River just below Taungs. It was very much at the same spot indicated by Burchell, east of Lekatlong. The numbers of the Korana there were about 300 in 56 huts, with a herd of cattle numbering 2,000, and an equal number at two other stations. There was also another numerous kraal to the north-east, which would approximately correspond to the Mamusa of the later days. So that the Taaibosch tribe, the largest and most important, seem even at this early date to have been in their full numbers in their new pasture-grounds in the north.

Oukey, the sub-captain, in the absence of Taaibosch himself, mentions some interesting details regarding their history. They had been under the rule of two brothers, Links and Abby. Links was now dead and it was his people who were at Malapeetze.

In 1820, the Malapeetze Korana had divided into three divisions. Campbell met the most numerous of them at Mobatee, still further to the north. He unfortunately does not give the name of the chief. Another division was twenty miles to the south. He did not call at Malapeetze, which was then deserted.[22]

This interesting information collected by Campbell on his two journeys definitely shows that the whole of the Taaibosch tribe was then settled in his days (1813-1820), in those parts of the country which was

20 Burchell, I. p. 345.
21 Campbell, 1813, p. 230-234.
22 Campbell, 1820, II. p. 22-23.

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to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaibosches and the Links were then still living together. 175

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaibosches and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabab*, *Matiti* and *Teteb* all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hareena to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. *But, at any rate, it is certain that their "living off" occurred* in this intervening period. 175 619

Hareena was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Konnah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the "Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Malalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east" makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River. 175 619 131

[1] Campbell, 1815, p. 290-2.
[2] Campbell, 1822, II. p. 185, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii. pp. 348-351.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantse*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Lamb, Esqr. of Wolmeranstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Mackavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

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[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 4 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 102-103.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 103.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-3; Magnet p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 849; Masson, p. 290; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 247; Nicholas Kruger, p. 339.

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175 State, until they hurled Moshesh and the Links over the Modder River.
619 A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern
721 Bloemfontein. Moshesh had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitskop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuizen, who pointed out the spot where the Steinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they were the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bastemen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Moshesh—the Links,—among the dead.

Moshesh himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

175 The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitskop, belonged
619 to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wawn, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[1] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[1] R. M. S. 1836, p. 178. E.

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of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Visser, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbuk, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludevicus Pretorius—two of the original "voortrekkers." Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Berges in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.[13] The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found "any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River."[14] As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Mekwetling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.[15] Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Moshesh and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Lirele had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a "smous," that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he overpassed at the Sehjoen. A kraal of Korana resided there, "under Abraham Lyon and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lyon."[16] They had returned to their old haunts and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

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[13] B. C. p. 197-198.
[14] B. C. p. 198.
[15] J. D. Maudon, *Evangelisation*, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.
[16] B. C. 233.

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For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a southern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[18] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

[14]

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To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[19] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Rose, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[20]

[14]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[21] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

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Now were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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[16] R. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[17] R. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
[18] R. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
[19] R. M. R. years 1848-1854.
[20] R. M. R. 1850, p. 200
[21] R. M. R. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweveld where he, in company with his brother Hans, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hermanus of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt persuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Potiel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[8]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Moletsane at Mekwetling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Moletsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Batsuang chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.[9]

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Bathaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[8] B. M. R. 1850, p. 191; 1851-6.

[9] Ann. Rep. I. pp. 209, 414, 491; Imperial Blue-book—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. R. 1851. pp. 11, 51, 202, 220; 1852, notes on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

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readily granted.[88] BeMairi and Linke seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[89] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[90] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Moriahlo, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had known."[91] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Setlpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a road house."[92]

Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Source early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Linke tribe.[93] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Source became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[94] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Source Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Barolong chieftains Moloetsi and Gasibone to meet him at the Setlpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[88] B. C. p. 291-3.
[89] B. C. p. 293.
[90] B. C. p. 304.
[91] B. C. p. 283, and 285.
[92] B. C. p. 303.
[93] B. M. B. 1846-1854.
[94] B. C. 305.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicions. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links formed Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Bamoteland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[99]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabaneend," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[100]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[101] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson encamped, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[102] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[103]

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[99] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 180-5.
[100] B. C. 229.
[101] B. C. 289.
[102] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[103] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 193.

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During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Potsi for a missionary,[1] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Potsi, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[2] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mareesa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[3] In December of the same year, Missionary Bruce arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[4]

175 Warren, in January 1879, deputed Bent, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Bruce to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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[1] Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bevölker*. Viertes Aufheft, p. 69.
[2] Reports. Blue Book. C. 2482-76. p. 33.
[3] Ibid, p. 34.
[4] Wangemann. op. cit. p. 69.

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slowly drew on, but Bruce flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[**] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Priel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Worms and Kallenberg towards the Koranas in no measured terms.[**] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retracted from his position, and apologized.[**]

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Salpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Bruce and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Bruce maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Bruce, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Koranas at the Salpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[**]

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[**] Mr. Bruce is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Salpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Koranas posted on the ridge above the Salpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, as the risk

** Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'82. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 3.

** Imperial Blue Book—the number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 32, p. 61 ff.

** Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633, already quoted.

** Imperial Blue Book, C. 4310-'86, p. 31, ff.; See especially p. 34.

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of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Korana were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Bruce had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.[*] Bruce himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Bruce's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,[**] it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Bruce can be substantiated. What Poole originates as the breach of a man's word of honour Bruce ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.[***] There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Bruce protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Bruce had been unjudicious. Bruce himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

[*] Letters of Bruce and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2220-79, p. 79-84 and p. 84-85, C. p. Wesselmann op. cit. p. 22-25.

[**] Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[66] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[67] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed; some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[68]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[66] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83, p. 6.
[67] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83, p. 6-9 and C. 2326-'79, p. 70-71.
[68] Wangemann, *Die ersten Nachrichten von Missionsarbeit*, p. 77-81.

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128 ultimately expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi'te* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, */Kats'i* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to */Kats'i*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!aunna*, "correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!aunteme*, "not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the *!kabab* ceremony, *Ke* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Mats'i*, and being also assisted by *Khoi*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, "as it is spoken" among the *[low veg]* *sic* at Riversdal.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from */Kats'i*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 167 The Korana people say *hani ne ke ne ni !hā* "we came from the sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *ni* means "to trek in order

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Takab*, *Matini*, and others. This meaning is different from *dee*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */haimakoos*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ka:n*) of the willows, *qi:kâb*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

/Katsi belongs to the *//aes mey //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to */katsi*, the Koranas had *driven Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Mauwe*, the great chief of the *Ani !kwaase*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Koranas at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Takab*, the father-in-law, */aib*, of */Katsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieska* and followed (?) the *Bir!kwa*, i.e., the Bellhaping and the *Barolong*. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//aes mey //ais* and the "Tauibosch" (*ani !kwaase*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *Ani !kwaase* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Bellhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*!kai !garib*) and the Hart's River (*qi:Kaab*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Bellhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *Ani !kwaase* settled at Taulgs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*olde gaale khoekhoei*), trapped them in pits (*aeragabee*). Then the Koranas quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Tauibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*a:ka-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Tauibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at *Steekdoornlo*, a farm a few miles to the west of Blomfontein.

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(iii) *From Mattti and Titoh.*

Ausib au ǂkhîje doe o, ǂkhîje ǂ'ôna: ǁgarib ǂhî ha o, ǂkhîje hai ǂharuhoa ha:, ǂkhîje kari ǂhî o hoa, ǂkhîje ǂ'khaup ǂna mâsi ǂhaoaa, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au Tsaaga ǂna ha:, ǂna ǁna.ha Brûkoa ǁgubi:, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au ǁkhâgu ǂhaoâ, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha Brûkoa ǂhaa ǁkhoi, ǂkhîje Titoh ǁna.ha ǂhaoa, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au Maoaoaba ǂhaa doe, ǂkhakhîje ǁna.ha au ǁore khaokhoa ǂhai ǁgarib ǂhaa doe:

ǂkhîje hakha hîje ha, ǂhaoâ ha ha mâsi ǂhai ǁgarib ǂna, ǂkhîje ǂ'ôna ǂ'aoaoje, Maoaoaba ǂhaa, ǂkhîje Kaoaoaoâ (Maoâfontein) ǁna.ha doe ha, ǂ'aoaoap, Titoh di ǁaoaoab, ǁaoakhîje ǁna.ha.

ǂkhîje au ha ǁnakha ha: ha mâsi, ǂkhîje au ha ǂhaoaa, ǂkhîje daoab ǁkha ǁhakha, ǂkhîje au ha ǂhaoa ǂha.ǂkhâb ǂhaoaoaa, ǂkhîje ǂaoi khaoab Maoaoaba ǂhaa ǂîe, ǂkhîje ǁna.ha au khaokhoa ǂ'aoaoa ǂhaoaa, ǂkha hakha ha o, ha: au ha ha i o, ǂkhîje au ha ǁkhâgu khaokhoa.

Translation :

When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Tsaaga. There the Bekwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Bekwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Maoaoa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Maoaoa. Then they trekked to *Kaoaoaoâ* (i.e. Maoâfontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). ǂ'aoaoap, the ancestor of *Titoh*, slept there. There the Boshmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Boshmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Maoaoa and from there men assisted. They came. The Boshmen were still there. The Boshmen fought the men.

Note :

Mattti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Bekwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Titoh*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.

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B. ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The *daro*, the Boy's Puberty Ceremony.

Version A.

From *Tabak*, December 1931.

ǂkʰʷaa ǁnu ǂkʰʷaakua ǂkarab ǁnu ka:ǁnuu. ǁnu gomab ʘ!aakua. ǁnaab ʘ!aakua ʘ!gaas ǁnu, ǂe ʘ!gaasi ʘ!kkáa ra dia a.

ʘ!aa sakú ra khaakua aasa sikúa.

ǂe kʰʷa kuna ǁkaa, ǁnu ʘ!gu:ǂe, ra ar. ǁnu ǁaikua ǁkú:x ǁnâa ǁnu. ǁnu "kw-a" ti ai. ǁnuu ka a, ǁka ta ʘ!gu:ǂe a, ǁka ǁnâa.

ǁnu gkab nâa, garaasa/ ǁkuu.

ǁnu ǁkaaab nâa:

ta:x aaaab daa ra ǁaab ǁnu ka ǁaba.

ǁnu ga ra:ǁnuu ǁkaiga ǁaisa gú:ŋ ǂâ a, ta:x ǂgaba ʘ!aab aa. a a ka ǁkáiba. ǁnu ǁkáib gai kkaaba ǂgaba ʘ!aiǂ.

ǁnu aa:b ǁaab ǁaaba: ka, a ka ǁkáiba ǁkaa, ǂb ǁkâ kkaab (aa: ʘ!kb) ka ka: ki ǁkáiba ǁaa.

ǁkaa ʘ!á aa.

ǁnu aa:b ǂra ǂkuu a, ǁkaiba ǁkaaab'ka x: ʘ!ka:ti.

ǂka ǁkaa ʘ!á a, ǁnu ǁnaiba ǁx:.

ǂka kʰʷaasaa ra ʘ!ákua a, ǁnu kuaa, ǁaisa ʘ!gaasaa ǁaasa kariaa. ǁnu ǁkaa:a ka aa. ǂka ǁkaa: a, i kʰʷaasa. ǂka ǁkaa: ti a, ǁkaiba ǁkaaab ǁnu ar ʘ!ákua.

Translation:

A house is built in the cattle-kraal for the youngsters. An ox is killed. The fat is pounded for them into a dish. The dish is made of willow-wood. Well-known men are appointed to cook for them.

While they drink, they are called, they answer. Sticks are struck together in their ear and they say "kw-a." If they are far, they are called, they hear.

Then they are given an *omagai* (milk), together with a *kiesi*.

Then they are given instruction:

" Do not light your pipe from a fire in the veld.

If, among the flock, you see a crippled (sick) sheep, do not look at its feet.

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Bring it home (to the stad), in order that the great men of the stad may look at its foot.

If you come across any (strange) thing in the veld, take it home (to the stad), that the owner may obtain it in the stad.

Do not eat a hare.

If you make any mistakes in anything, you go back to the " law " i.e. instruction.

If you eat a hare, you die there (*i.e.* on the spot)"

When he comes out of the (*dawo*) house, a heifer is chosen, three years old. He runs hard, in order to catch it. If he catches it, he is a man. If he does not, he goes back to the " law " again.

[11] *Note : Matiti*, the other informant added : */kúnu ha /hú o. ǂje dáwo dorubi*, " since the white men (the English) have come, the *dawo* has ceased."

When this version was tested, by getting *Matiti* to relate his facts, he only added ; (i) that the ox's entrails were burnt and the fat melted ; (ii) (among the " laws,") Do not tell a lie ; Do not steal ; Do not do anything wrong."

Version B : from *Tabab*, February 1932.

dawo ǂnu ha u: ǂʼkhoi. ǂnu ǂnâki hoi khaukhuu ha ha ǂnu gomaru ǂnuu /hú. ǂnu gaiwaa/ thi gîiab thikka nuhi.

ǂnu ǂkaaub nuhi:

ha:r ǂnaib ǂnu ha:ruu su /nûkka uuuuub ǂkam.
ha:r ǂhau ǂʼkhoi.
ha:r ǂnaib ǂnu ha: /uiua ǂnûta nuhi o.
ha:r ǂgaiba ǂʼkhoib. o u:ha ǂkhûkka ǂkuu.
ǂhu gui khaukhuu ǂgaiba ǂʼkhoiǂ.
ǂnûta ǂnaib ǂnu ǂgaiba ǂʼkhoib o, ǂhu ǂkuu, ǂnu ǂkaiba u: ǂʼkhoi.
ǂnu gu:ruu di ǂuuaib ka#uuia, ǂnu ǂkîgu:ia, ǂnu ru,
ǂnu ǂnâkuu ǂha:r ǂnâka ǂnu. ǂnuuu ha o, ǂhu ǂkîgu:ia ha#a o, ǂnâka.
ǂnu uuuu kuriuuu ǂnâka u: ǂkaukâkuu. i ǂgaru, ǂhu uuuku ha: o, ka#uuu.
ǂhu ha: ǂuuuu ha o, ǂhu ǂkaiba u: ǂʼkhoi.

Translation :

He is taken into the *dawo*. Old men look after him. When they go and count the cows, (the boy drinks milk). He is given a kiwi and an *oangwi* (knife).

Then the " laws " are given.

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Do not light your pipe in a fire in the veld.

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If you see anything sick in the veld, do not look at its foot. Bring it to the stad. The old men will look at its foot. If you look at its foot in the veld, you have transgressed, you must go back.

Then the fat of sheep is drunk. Then he is called. He answers. Then stones are struck in his ear. If he is far and he is called, he hears.

A nine year old heifer is picked, he chases it. If he catches its tail, he is a man. If he does not catch it, he is brought back to the "law."

Notes:

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The *dwo* ceremony. For an analysis of the accounts concerning the Nama ceremony and the sources, see Schapera, The *Khoi-san Peoples*, pp. 279-283. Olpp has given the most detailed account for the *Namas*. Schapera omits all reference to the Korana ceremonies throughout this part of his work.

For the Korana, see

(i) Wikar, in G. M. II pp. 103-104.

(ii) Campbell, 1820, II p. 346.

(iii) Wuras. Ms. (1858) published in *Bantu Studies*, iii, p. 291-293.

(iv) Burkhardt. p. 118.

(v) Meinhof. p. 17-18 and 66-67.

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It is the first time that the full *dwo* ceremony is given in Korana. Meinhof has published a Korana text of the "laws" and has given a short description of the ceremony in German. Campbell merely says: "They have no rite of circumcision like the Bootchuanis and the Mooruing nations; but when a boy enters upon a state of manhood, a feast called Duwo is made according to the circumstances of the father. Sometimes eight or ten oxen are slain upon such an occasion."

By far the fullest account for the Korana is Wuras'. His facts tally with those set out in the two texts above. There are however one or two essential points in which Wuras differs:

(a) the fat is rubbed on the boy's body, not drunk.

(b) the "*dood*, the very act of reception," as his version has it, consists of three parts: (1) "the knocking of the awls," which corresponds to the knocking of the stones in our text; (2) nine cuts on the belly and nine cuts on the chest of the initiate; (3) the "laws" given to him.

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88/ *Tabab* was very insistent, that the boy drank the fat and that may be symbolical of the cleansing, here inwardly as well as outwardly. He was also very definite on the question of the cuts : *dowo ha /gowhaa ka tama*, " in the *dowo* there are no cuts." On these two points, when I questioned him after having told his story, I could get no other answer. The other old men questioned separately, confirmed *Tabab*. The cuts will appear later, as we shall see. They all agreed that the *qha:ai*, the " reed pipes " and dancing went on during the *dowo*. The " laws " given by Wurm are slightly different and not so full.

177 The *dowo* is now extinct. The introduction of Christianity killed it, but it was still practised in the middle of last century, as is testified by the following statement of Andries, a councillor of Mamoro Rijt Taaibosch at the Witgatboom meeting (1869), " The Koranas instruct their children, when still young, in their laws and customs." (B.C. 298).

The *!gaos !kaaub* ceremony.

88/ 304 *ona ǂka xami Mamoro qhara o, ona !xamaub ai !nau, ona gomara qhai, /gowhaa mâsi /kha: ka*ai *!xamaub.*

Translation :

If he has shot an animal like a lion, and they go as far as to tell his uncle, men are killed and his uncle puts cuts on his body.

Tabab explained that the cuts were on the shoulders downwards on to the abdomen and on the abdomen, stretching horizontally from the navel. No charcoal dust was rubbed in. *Mantsi* and *Tsaib* confirmed. They all agreed that it was after this test of manliness, the first killing of a large wild animal, that the cuts were made, and that it was, as it were, a continuation of the process of initiation, the catching of the calf in the *dowo* being merely a substitute for the real completion of the ceremony. A casual remark of Mrs. Hoernlé in her " Conception on the *!nau* " (p. 70) has been interpreted by Schapera (*op. cit.* p. 309) as implying that the *dowo* and this ceremony are but one. Here, in the data given by *Tabab* and his old associates, we have full confirmation of this, in spite of Schapera's fear that time was past to obtain such confirmation.

Wurm (*op. cit.* p. 293) describes the rite under the name of *!gaoskaub*. He did not collect any information about its inner significance.

The *!kabab*, the Girl's Puberty Ceremony.

88/ 309 *!kaob ta ha o, !ka:a di !kabab, ona !khaib dikun, ona !kaoaba mâsi qhâkun, ona !kaoa mâ ka*ai *!oib dikun, ona !naoa qhara, ona kaoa gaisa !gaba*

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tama, i ||kaoxe tama, ina ǂ'hau: ta o, ǁkoxa mi kx'am ||aha ǂ'hau xu, ina BW
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sha ta o, sha ǂ'a-hau tau o, ina ǂkhab ga:b mi, ina ga:b ǂ'ae, ina a:b
ha ǃnamakoxe, ina ǂ'gaxu ha xaha sha ǃnabi, tsa gei khoxa shin, ina gei
mabi ina kaba, ina ||khoa di ǃkarab a:x, ina ǃkarab ǃkau ǂ'khoxoxe, ||nab
ǃkau ina xree, ma xre tsa sha o, ina ||naiha ǂ'khoxoxe, ina ǃnaaba ||kaba
ǃkabe, ina sika shikoxe.

ina ga:b ta shin o, ina ǃaroxa kaina khoxabi ǂ'ain, ina ǂkā:b ǃkau,
ǃkabā tai ǂ'naxoxoxe taihoa axoxe, ina ǃanabi ||ka:x.

ina gei khoxei kau ǃnaaxe:kau ǃke tsi xoxe ǃnabi taihoa, ina xoxe ǃkaroxe.

ina ǃgaraba x: ǂ'khax, i mai kaia a:ke, ina ke:xixia o, ina ǂ'gaxaǂ x:x, ina
ǂ'gaxaba ke ke ǃkarax tsi ǂ'gaibbabau a:kx'ai ǃkarax, ina ||na:ka ||gaxoxa
kx'am ǃaa naia, ||kaaka kx'ai naia, ina ke: kaina ǂ'naxoxe, ina kx'ai naxia.

ina|| kā:ka ǃkau ǂkā, ina gei khoxabi ||nax, ina ||xen, ina ǂ'nax:.

Translation:

When the time comes, the puberty ceremony of the young girl, a room is made for her. A mat is pegged. A separate door is made for her. She sits quietly. She does not look at things too much. She does not scratch herself. When she goes out, she goes out by the separate door. An old woman looks after her. When the ceremony is finished, the brother gives a sheep. The sheep is killed, his throat is cut over a hole. The blood is gathered in a wooden vessel. It is cooked by an old woman. The old woman eat it all up. The mist is drawn out of the entrails. She is rubbed with the mist. It is rubbed off with fat. [304]
Then red ochre is again rubbed. Then *sib* (a perfumed powder) is sprinkled (over) her.

When the sheep is cooked, it is eaten by the healthy women. Then she (i.e. the girl) is clothed with a back-kaross and a fore-kaross and a wrapping kaross and beads are put round her neck.

Then the old woman teaches (with her) everything and the grindstone she and they grind together.

Then she is taken to the river. The old woman gets a little stick. When she has it, she takes some clay, she (the girl), is rubbed with this clay and her thighs are rubbed all over. She is placed on the edge of the water, she is made to bend on her knees. It (the water), is struck with this little stick.* She is sprinkled all over. Then she returns to the mat. The old women sing and clap their hands and dance.

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Note: Henceforth, explained *Ie* and *Mei*, she ceased to be a *Ikoa* and became an *amas*, until her marriage when she became a *tarar* or wife. *Ie* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described, extremely briefly for the Korana by Wurm (loc. cit.) For the Namas, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the correct things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *ubb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khoi* brought me some and she and *Ie* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows: (i) *Ikaup*; (ii) *Isi ubb*, a green lichen growing on stones; (iii) *Aurob*, "wild hinnies," roots only; (iv) *Ina Nuib*; (v) *Igoaibeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter; and lastly the *Ikoaubeb* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mistress must smell sweet (*Igibi kam*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty cows, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *ghoraib* and dancing. The *ubo gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a "*Gomo Ikoa ma gamaib*," or ox for the newborn children," was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, *Gomo Ikoa ma gomas*.

The life history of *Ie*

gai Ouaib kaeib hao Ie kip Ikhaub kabai hoa ka. dipi Ouaib hoa kabmaina kpi kabai. Ima: Hao, kabmaina Ikaruhoa ra dia ka. dip Karuhoa kib ra dia, dipi tarubbaoub Igaraib hoa Ikhiba di hoa hoa.

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Translation:

Ie was born at Saron (*Hkoub*) in the year of the great snow. The snow covered all the huts. At that time the huts were made of mats. The mats were made of rush. The women collected the rushes in the river.

Note:

The Links returned to Saron in 1875 (See "*History of the Links tribe.*"). In 1876 there was an abnormal fall of snow. The Government Land-Surveyor, A. C. Bailie, leaving on a Government mission for the North, writes: "On the evening of the 23rd June 1876, I started my waggon (from Kimberley) . . . . . On arriving at Barkly West, about eighteen miles from here, I found my waggon stuck on account of the snow" (*Imperial Blue Book*, C. 2220-79 p. 74). He had been already delayed in Kimberley for the same reason (*ibid*, p. 47). Therefore *Ie* was born in 1876. She further told me and this was corroborated by *Tabab* and *Khois*, that they were still living in rush-mat huts at the end of the Anglo-Boer war (1902).

Funeral of a Chief.

gommab te !nuse o, ine !kabab !nuse-ine !khoab dikue, ine kaibese !nuese, ine !kurub !xaibue, ine !kke: ||o b qi-nuammi no nammi, ine ||no-be ||gnisie, ine !nai !kurube !kke ke'ammue, ine !ha-be thurue.

Translation:

If a chief is buried, he is buried in a grave. A chamber is made for him. Twigs are strewn. Then a mat is spread out. Then the dead body is wrapped up in a kaross. Then it is laid down. Then it is closed up with another mat. Then earth is thrown (over him).

Note:

My informants were *Tatab* and *Ie*. We had been talking about the grave of Johannes Links at Saron, which we had recently visited. *Tatab* told me he had seen the burial, and I asked him to give me a description of it. It surprised me that the old Hottentot practice of burying the body in a sitting posture was not mentioned. *Tatab* denied this and here he is supported by a very accurate observer, Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 318

In plate 4, the grave of Johannes Links is seen marked by a heap of stones.[1]

Terms of Relationship

The method used here was to procure from my informants genealogical lists (which follow later in these studies). Then the informants

[1] [See II: Ruby, cat. 766, red plate 1. - Pam Lyn]

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60| were asked what they called the different members of the genealogy, these being named by their specific names. By this means, a direct question embodying the English or Afrikaans term was avoided and it was thus possible to secure the real Korana word denoting the particular relationship.

Referring to the genealogical lists,

A. (Genealogical list of *Mattii* and *Igubo qi'ne*)

Igubo qi'ne called	*Api* (father)	*ti ‡i* ;
	Dyakani (mother)	*ti ‡a* ;
	Mattii (father's brother)	*gui ta* (" great pa ")
	Matemma (grandfather) ..	*ti ‡‡amb* ;
	/Kurubab (great-grandfather) ..	*ti gui ‡‡amb* ;
	Kabi (cousin by father's brother)	*ti !kho* ;
	Ommaa (‹‹)	*ti !kho*.

B. (Genealogical list of the Linko Chiefs)

Khoi called	*/Aakoin* (cousin by father's brother)	*Ti !kho* ;
	Brikib (‹‹)	*ti !kib* ;
	Gaiy !kaeip (grandfather) ..	*ti ‡‡amb* ;
	Oahaaaa (grandmother) ..	*aaaaa* ;
/Kaisi called	*Takab* (Father-in-law)	*ti‡ab* ;
	Khoin (mother-in-law)	*ti‡oin* ;
	Lobi (daughter)	*ti !kaa* ;
	Dami (son)	*ti !kab* ;
	Oraaa (wife)	*ti !aaraa* ;
Oraaa called	*/Kaisi* (husband)	*ti aaii* ;
	Kaisiiib (mother's brother) ..	*Ti ‡‡aaaaib* ;

C. (Genealogical list of *Mais* and *Sis*)

Sis called	*Hiaaa* (father's sister)	*ti aaaiis, aaaaa* ;
	Sokoi (uncle by marriage) ..	*ti ‡‡aaraib* ;
	Mahakaib (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti ‡‡aaraib* ;
	Taraaa (father's sister)	*ti aaaiis* ;
	Bagaaa (cousin by mother's sister)	*ti ‡‡aaraib*.
Igaaibo called	*Sis* (mother)	*ti !ka* ;
	Kaaiab (grandfather)	*aaiab* ;
	Taraaa (great aunt)	*aaaaa* ;
	Hiaaa (great aunt)	*aaaaa* ;
	Sokoi (great uncle)	*aaiab* ;
	Mais (mother's elder sister) ..	*gui aaa* ;
	Mahakaib (second cousin) ..	*aaa ‡‡aaraib*.

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Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that older person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not as full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (*op. cit.* p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Haeseld (the Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvi, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (*op. cit.* pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (*op. cit.* p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Snare Arrahara.

Tarakhoesib sa ts'hara ||khara tki kuib ekkhe khara ||hara. ||khara ka hje sa tkē, ona kari ||kar kaiha ka, sesib kaiha ||ankhara sa ||ara ||ka.r. ||khoesib kaiqnakhara sa tsekhkhoesib dikon, gaisis khaukara ekje dikon. ||gara ||nkhara ekka hje di tsoma, sa ||hara kaiha di hara.

Translation :

The women dig for " ariejas " with the hound-sense and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.

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The bored stones were made by the men for the women. Our ancestors made them. We did not make the stone weapons (or knives). The Bushmen made them.

Note:

This text was given, eg *Takab*, *Tamé* and *Ju* being shown a bored stone and some other artefacts from Sheppard Island. The word *Skarro* also means a "hammer," a fact which seems to imply that they were put to more uses than the one here indicated. Wikar (G.M. p. 60), speaking of the deep pits for trapping wild animals, has recorded their use as late as 1779. "They have," he writes, "a *kierí* of olive-wood, which is cut into a sharp point, and somewhat about the middle of the *kierí* is a round heavy stone in the centre of which a hole has been bored; through the weight which the kierí gathers from the round stone" the digging is made easy. Cp. for other uses in South Africa Mrs. Hoernlé, "A note on bored stones among the Bantu" in *Bantu Studies*, v, p. 253-255; and also for the Koranas, Meinhof, *Die Karassprachen der Hottentottische*, p. 14.

They did not usually shoot with bows and arrows. *!Kuisi's* mother told him that the men of her generation used to throw (*gleuw*) large stones from one side of the Vaal across the river (which is here 130 yards broad from bank to bank) and hit and kill men or animals on the opposite bank.

Bows and arrows

Na ŋ se hoa di ǂhoa. dija ǂkoraha ha ŋ di ǂhoa tama. dija ǂe hoa ga: kha di ǂhoa ǂkoraha khama ǂhoa ke. dija ǂkhoŋ'oaha tsuh hoa gui kha di tsi'a hoa thiha gleua. dija ǂkami'ae, ke di tsi gueha thiha amaga hoa ǂkoa'a. dija ghuh ǂhoa ǂkamma.

Translation:

The Bushmen used poison. The Koraua did not use poison. The young boys played with small bows as playthings. The warriors shot in the war with large bows and arrows. In the chase, the springbuck and the wildebeest were trapped in the pit. Then they were killed with an assegai.

Informants: *Dyuli*, *Matiti* and *Khau*.

I take it that the meaning is that the Koraua originally did not use poison. But when the Hottentots had come into contact with the Bushmen, their arrows were poisoned.

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Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de voorÿke natien langs dezen zÿrier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (*Ibid.* pp. 131-133). 114

PASTIMES

The making of the *!gun !hurib* (honey beer) 273 539

Amina a: ǂ!hi-i.

!ǂabib ǂne !hûs, ǂne !hâ !hûs, ǂne !khoroe, ǂne thomse !hanb ab n.v. ǂne dami !hoe ti'gubi.

ǂne !hamse !gumni ha ǂne ǂ!ammer. ǂna o !gu ha³xis. ǂne !hâ !hûs.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *!ǂabib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey. [824]

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels*." II p. 150 and 367) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-aarde*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " *dango* " (beer) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *kaap* or " *beerwortel*," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tshab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the foaming that follows. The *!ǂabib* was described by *Tshab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms*,) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places. 114 273 824

Games

(i) The *ǂhes*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The 524

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Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//ku:*, "To make a hole" and *//ku:s* is thus properly "a hole."

(ii) The *gaunkoms*, "hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims: "*kom //kamip //ao ka?*" "In which hand is it?" If the opponent guesses correctly, he says: *//kaugu*. "You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous "Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aromy //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works:

(i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt der Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note: The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels.* Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

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6 and 6 and 6 (p. 7). I found the same hesitancy in many other instances. Thus *ǂkhe ɛ*, in *Tabab's* pronunciation, as against *ǂe, ǂkhae*, " to be brought in." *ǂkhe ɛ* can be explained thus: *ǂkhae* > *ǂkhe* (with *a* > *ɛ*) > *ǂkhe ɛ* (*i* by dissimilation). Again *!Nare* in the group *hare !ke.ne gomab* was pronounced *hare* by *Tabab*, who is considered as the best Korana speaker in Bloemfontein.

Similarly *e* and *o*, e.g. *ere* and *ere* " to free, rub off "; *!Kere* and *!kere*, " to rub, massage; "

ee and *oe* in *hoeb* and *hoeb*, " red ochre ";

ke and *ko* in *//ake* and *//ako*, " to hear."

An *ŋ* is found in some words, e.g. *ŋa ka²ai*, " to cover "; *ka²ami*, " house."

An *y* is heard sometimes in *ǂyab*, " arose " pronounced *ǂyāb*, as against *ǂab*, " father-in-law," which never shows the *y*.

ae > *ee* e.g. *!kee*, and *!kae* " to "; *!kaie*, " with "; *ǂkhae*, " to go out."

u develops between *o:* and *r* in *ko:ue* " to be obtained," (heard once).

(b) Consonants.

(i) *-b* is very often devoiced into *-p*. Thus *Tabap* instead of *Tabab*; *geip! kawip*; *ǂkaip* instead of *ǂkaib*, " foot."

-b- (intervocalic) is sometimes, but very seldom heard as *-β-*.

(ii) The flapped retroflex consonant which is heard as *r* or *l* or *d* exists. Thus, in proper names, *Mabebab, geip! kawip, Katalip*, etc. I have heard *!ke say !garip* and *!gadip* " the river " and *Tabab say indifferently gomadi* and *gomari* " the cave."

The existence of this consonant explains, to my mind, such distinctions as this one made by Wuras (*Vocabulary of the Korana Language*, under " Cow "): " All the females have two plurals—the woman says; *Kamaire*; the man says: *Kamare*." and by Engelbrecht (p. 8): " Reeds uit die voorgaande het ons geleer dat die gebruik van 'n *r*- of 'n *d*- vorm afhang van die geslag van die spreker. . . . By die vorming van die verkleinwoord word naamlik tussen stam en agtervoegsel *-ra-* of *-da-* ingelas al na die spreker tot die manlike of tot die vroulike geslag behoort."

(iii) The *l* exists very rarely. I observed it only in one word *laula* " I am sorry, excuse me."

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194 (iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *n* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names; *//aewey //ais* ; " the Lions " *//Kaeiq //ais*, " the Hoogtemdons ;' *//kkeq //ais*, " the Katemens "; *//kkq //ais* the " Sharpmens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiq //kaeiq* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common elsewhere, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiq ǂka.a* " the big road."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the voice element of the click as to the isolated voices *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this voice element of the click. The Blommfontein Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *ǂgarib*, " the Orange River," and *//karib*, " honey-bear, " and *//karib* " whip "; *//kaub*, " time," and *//kaunb* " law."

I observed no ejective voice affricate *kǂ* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *//aewey //ais* being a good example, < *//aes* " kill," + *//kaib*," arm," *//ais* " tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Blommfontein speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. *//aib*, " stone," with a high tone, and *//aib*, " father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognized three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

193 It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that " die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

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by speaking to the Korana, they do not seem to have a very strong sense of these as case-endings. It is interesting in this connection, to examine carefully the lists of words of the 18th century old Cape dialect (cp. G. M. I. pp. 215-224). There is not, out of the many masculine nouns, a single one ending in -b, there are a few feminines ending in -s. There are a number of plural masculines ending in -daos. This usage, in the case of isolated words, is fully confirmed by the texts we possess of the period (the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, *Cape Monthly* 1858. 116-9). It might perhaps not be unreasonable to conjecture that the extensive use of these endings are a relatively modern development.

In our dialect, the -b is regularly dropped, in a number of cases, e.g. where *||kaeb*, "time" is placed at the end of a temporal clause: *ke kuP'e hanse ||kaeb, hanse ts'ganis*," when they have drunk, they are called." But even in other connections, this omission is found, e.g. *hani ||kae*, "in the aforesaid time." Frequent as this is, it is still almost one of the few fairly regular features of Korana.

Similarly with the tense-particle of the verbs, they are often left out, if we do not count *kee* as such. For this particle, properly expressing the present tense, becomes in the current usage of to-day a mere equivalent of "and." *Ta* is also regularly used to express the future. There is, in this respect, another interesting usage. Schultze, with his usual accuracy, has already noted for Nama what he calls the Passivum narrativum (op. cit. 392). He says: "Statt so sagte man *tete gye ge ts'ase*, d.h. "und sie tanzte," sagt der Hottentot in Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern: *tsi gye ge ts'aoke*, (-*ke*, Passivendung), d.h. "und es wurde getanzt," wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivum selbst durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimmtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird."—a practice singularly like the Bushman. We observe precisely the same syntactical phenomena in our Bloemhof texts, e.g. *dije hoke hje ke, ||kaeb ke: ke mike:, dije tsise tjaoxie*, etc., cp. also the last lines of *||kabab* ceremony, etc.

This looseness in the structure of the Hottentot sentence is still more apparent in the way in which words are juxtaposed to create an adjectival relationship, e.g. *tjise mike ne khoekhoe ekakhoe*, lit: "knee, place, an adjectival particle, it is cooked for him." (the two first are plain verb-nouns), i.e. "certain ones are appointed to cook for him." Or again, *||kaese ouli ke'ase ||ap*. lit. "alone, place, mouth door," i.e. "a separate door," etc. These are purely agglutinative constructions, where all sense of what we are accustomed to call "parts of speech" is lost or perhaps never existed.

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THE PLACE OF KORANA AMONG THE HOTTENTOT DIALECTS

Korana has been often compared with Nama in recent years. A comparison with the Old Cape dialects is no less important, if we are to determine accurately the relationship of Korana to the other members of the Hottentot linguistic family. Cape Hottentot is however an extinct language. But we fortunately have word lists of this old dialect, dating back to the end of the 18th century, to which we have already referred and which probably all come from the same source, as I hope to prove some day. We shall take for our present purpose the lists published in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, p. 215-224). They provide an excellent basis for comparison with Korana, in view of the fact that the two peoples who spoke the dialects are fundamentally identical.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA, CAPE AND NAMA DIALECTS

	Korana.	*Cape.*	*Nama.*	*English.*
A.				
1.	*ka!a*	*ka!a, kaa*	*a*	"to drink"
2.	*ka!aa*	*kaaqua, gaaraqua*	*aa*	"mouth."
3.	*ka!aais*	*k'aaraiqua*	*aoi*	"bird."
4.	*ka!kâ*	*ga!ais*	*kâ*	"liver."
5.	*ka!oai*	*k'aaroa*	*oai*	"house."
6.	*ka!xûbe*	*k'gaaraiche*	*khûbe*	"alive."
7.	*thai //gaub*	*thaiboa*	*tsui //gaub*	"God."
B.				
1.	*ki !ûb*	*kigua, kiguaroa*	*kaoa*	"head."
2.	*kaaroa*	*kaaroa*	*aoni*	"tongue."
3.	*aiaiaub*	*k'gaaroaroa, chaaroaroa*	*//gaub*	"tiger."
4.	*//kâbeb*	*chaaqua*	*gâbeb*	"wolf."
5.	*kâ*	*kâ*	*âob*	"milk."

The evidence in this table is conclusive. Not only have we here in Group A 1-6, a series of words beginning with the ejective velar affricate *ka'* in Korana and the Cape dialect (the *-b* and the *-qua*—*-koa* are merely endings, which can be neglected for our present purpose), whilst Nama has consistently dropped that sound combination. In A. 7 the *th* again belongs to Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama.

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We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tawa* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*hib*) as against Nama *dip*. 197

In 1919, Rev. C. Wanders tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentottsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain these identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *hipanse* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qa'eis*: "*qa'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *hampus*: "das *h* . . . am Anfang des Wortes vermuthe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wanders as a practical test to show how different Nama is in these few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart: (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names: 173 551

-b (*-p*), for the males, and *-s* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

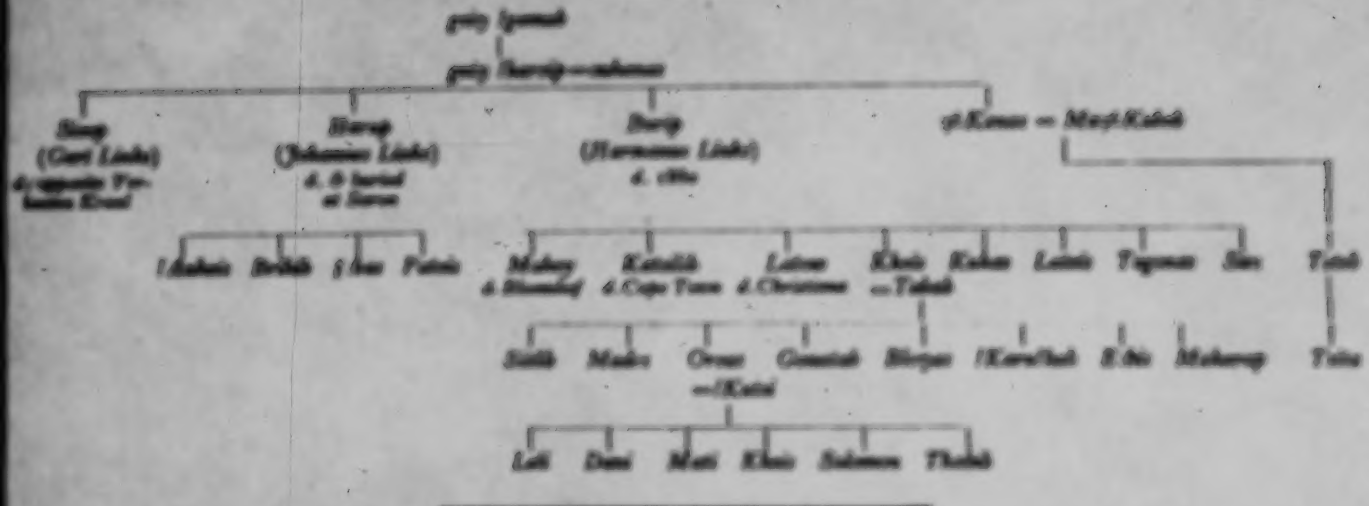
(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of */Auni* and *Orsas* have mostly European Christian names.

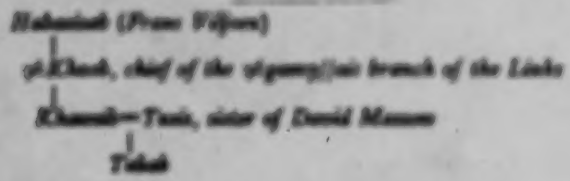
(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS



GENEALOGY OF *TABAB*, HUSBAND OF *KHEIS*



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GENEALOGY OF THE TAAIBOSCH CHIEFS

Sources:

(i) the deposition of Mauow Rijt Taaibosch at the Wiggetown Meeting in 1860. (B. C.290-291);

(ii) the deposition of Petrus Roey, a councillor of Jacob Taaibosch, at the same Meeting. (B.C. pp. 291-292);

(iii) Arbousset and Daumas, pp. 49-50. Their principal informant, it will be remembered, was Hasto;

(iv) The Bloemhof Korana;

(v) A document dated November 1870, in Lindley's *Adamantia*, pp. 20-33, which is signed by Mauow Rijt Taaibosch himself;

(vi) certain details about Jan Kaptein will be found in Rev. John Edwards' *Fifty years of Mission Life in South Africa*, pp. 109-110;

(vii) and passim, in the Bloemhof Commission Report and in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Year's Reports of the same Society.

In the present lists, (i) the first part, has been obtained from Mauow Rijt Taaibosch's deposition. The names provided with asterisks are from Petrus Roey's deposition. The names of the descendants of Mauow were given by my Bloemhof informants. The small list (iii) is drawn from Arbousset and Daumas.

This is the least satisfactory of all the lists given here. We have had occasion to remark on Mauow's untrustworthiness in some respects (see the early history of the Korana). Now, as we shall see, has complicated the problem by some unwarrantable blunders in his genealogy of the Taaibosch family. (*The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 298).

The Earlier Generations.

Mauow gives one set of ancestors in (i) and Arbousset and Daumas another set in (ii). It may, however, be possible to reconcile them, if it is borne in mind that

(i) the French missionaries naturally used the French spelling;

(ii) there was no adequate system of phonetic notation for the Native names, the clicks offering a special difficulty.

With these remarks in view, it is possible that

(a) *Atongy* may = *Amonchai* (*p*)

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kr represents here an unknown click, possibly a dental one, in the same way as *hum — hu*, *ur* being a *glide sound*; the combination *hu* does not exist in French. The *g-ch*, the second one of the French transcriptions, as *k* and *g* interchange in Korana. The difficulty is a nasal element of the click in the French transcription, possibly arising from the second nasal. 173 174

(b) *hoonghoe moey — hoogo* (*g*); and (c) *goum — hum* (*g*).

If the above interpretation is correct, then Arbousset and Daumas must have been mistaken as to the direct line of descent of members of this list.

Stow has inverted the line of succession between *Eikoms* and *Kushé* without any vestige of reason, for there is not a single word in Arbousset and Daumas, from whom he drew his information, to warrant any such inversion.

The Indentity of Hanto — Jan Taaibosch — Jan Kaptein.

There can be no question that these three names denote the same man. The descriptions of *Hanto* in Arbousset and Daumas and of *Jan Kaptein* in Edwards show that both the one and the other are

(i) the Korana chief of Umpukani; (ii) thirty-three years of age; (iii) meet with the same manner of death, by a lion; (iv) have the same physical appearance; (v) are both pious, and these similarities are all the more striking, as the French missionaries equally saw and spoke to the man in 1836, and as Edwards was his missionary for a number of years.

Backhouse, in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 393, has an entry under July 1839, in his Journal: "This late chief Jan Kaptein Taaibosch, a pious man, was killed by a lion; his son (who) was receiving his education at Farmerfield, Albany." Two points are important here, (a) that the names Jan Kaptein Taaibosch are this time all three joined together to denote the same man; and (b) that both *Jan Kaptein Taaibosch* and the *Hanto* of Arbousset and Daumas had a young son.

Hanto came originally from Ramah on the Orange River, and lived for a time at Taungs. He and his brother Gert Taaibosch joined the Barolong chief Moroko, when he emigrated from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba 'Nchu in 1834 (B. C. p. 263).

Here again Stow was under a misapprehension, when he made *Hanto* and *Jan Taaibosch* two different men, calling *Hanto* the father of

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173 114 *Kopi and Jan Taaibosch* the father *of Gert Taaibosch*, the latter being in reality the brother *of* the former (Cp. B. C. p. 263 " Captain Hantie, whom his brother Gert Taaibosch succeeded.")

Hans Taaibosch is the same person as *Kopi*, for the reigning chief in 1838 was *Hans Kaptein* (Papers relating to the Wesleyan Missions, LXXXIII, September 1838, p. 2, and Report for the year 1840, pp. 61) and we know that the young Farmerfield student died at the end of 1839 or the beginning of 1840 (Shaw's Report in Report for the year 1840, p. 67).

Omissions.

(i) *Jacob Taaibosch*. He is mentioned as Jan Kaptein's brother by Edwards. At the Wiggetbosch meeting (1869) and also at Mamusa before Colonel Warren (1879) a *Jacob Taaibosch* appears (*Imperial Blue Book* C. 2454, '79, p 33-34.) Whether the latter is the same as the brother of Jan Kaptein is not clear.

(ii) *Isaac Taaibosch*, mentioned by Petrus Rooy, as having succeeded *Hans*, (B. C. 263).

(iii) *Goliath Vaarbek*, the chief of the Bethany Hottentots. He is given by Meneer Rijk Taaibosch (document in *Adamantia*) as a cousin of Jan Taaibosch. It is not clear whose descendant he is.

GENEALOGY OF THE LINKS CHIEFS

173 113 Sources: Informants at Bloemhof; supplemented by the publications of the Berlin Missionary Society (1848-1854). *Trooi*, *Tabab* and others gave details which are fully supported by these records.

173 114 *grey Harvip*, " great " or " old Harvip " is the " alte Harvip " of the Berichte (1850, p. 57, etc.) He is given as the father of Gert Links, the captain of Steen (1848-1854) and, when Johann Schmidt arrived, was already a very old man (" ein circa 90 jähriger Greis." B. M. B. 1851, p. 122), so that he must have been been about 1760 and been therefore one of the original Korana of the Orange River. If that is the case, he was already advanced in years in 1823, when Broadbent and Hodgson travelled in the Bloemhof district. It might not then be improbable to identify him with the chief *Chaabap*, " a venerable old man," about whom these missionaries speak so much. Phonetically, the identity can be explained, for, in the unsatisfactory rendering of the time, *ch* would represent a click, *-b-* would stand for the flapped retroflex consonant, which is heard by some as *l* and by others as *d* or *r*; and the *a* would be the obscure vowel, as the tone and stress are on the last

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syllable. So that we have an unbroken record of the Links chiefs from 1823 to the present day in this genealogical list. According to the Bloemhof traditions, *geiy !kuruip* died after 1854, the date of the breaking-up of the Sesen Mission. This is not in disagreement with the Berichte.

Onkoman, " *old Hanse* " in the piece " *alte Hanse, die Frau des alten Hariip* " (B.M.B. 1853, p. 85). Her grave is one of the three still extant on the site of the Sesen Mission Station.

Gert Links, the captain of Sesen (B.M.B. 1848-1854) was still alive in 1860, as he appeared at the Wiggetbosen meeting. He was then old and ill (B.C. p. 279 ; p. 292). He probably died shortly after.

Johannes Links deputised for his brother Gert at Wiggetbosen after the first day (B.C. p. 298). He was born near Bloemhof (B.C. 292) and was a much younger man. He succeeded his brother in the Chieftainship. He seems to have died shortly before 1878 (See Report of Sir C. Warren, *Imperial Blue Book* C. 3633, 83, p. 3). His grave is at Sesen (See plate 4).

Hermanus Links succeeded his brother (not his father, as Warren says). He was the chief at the time of the differences between Warren and Brome (1878-1879). He died before the end of 1880 (Imperial Bluebook. C. 3114-'82. p. 86). There was another *Hermanus Links* who died in 1915, according to a letter, dated 11th February of that year, from H. Macleod, the Kimberley Law Agent of the Links, acknowledging that news of his death. (Ms. Private correspondence in the possession of *Totsh* of Bloemhof). He must—

Kattilib died at Cape Town, after fighting during the Great War (1915). He would have been the chief, if he had lived. *Totsh* is now looked upon as the *gaunab*, although he has no longer the power nor the privileges of a chief.

Onaindaw :

Uruib, the *Urum* of the Berichte and the *Oaibes* of Chapman, the chief of the Links of Bamboes Spruit and Maquassie Spruit. The English traveller who met him on March 15th 1853, calls him the brother of Gert Links (Chapman, p. 128). It is not sure which Gert Links it is.

Matiahase's wife. She was a daughter of Gert Links the elder, i.e. *geiy !kuruip*. *Matiahase* was a chief of the BaMairi (B.C. p. 292 ; 298). Her name is unknown.

Finally, these members of the branch who appear in the Berliner Missions Berichte, 1851, pp. 122-123, but who were not mentioned by my Bloemhof informants:—(i) *Maria*, the sister of *geiy !kuruip* ; (ii)

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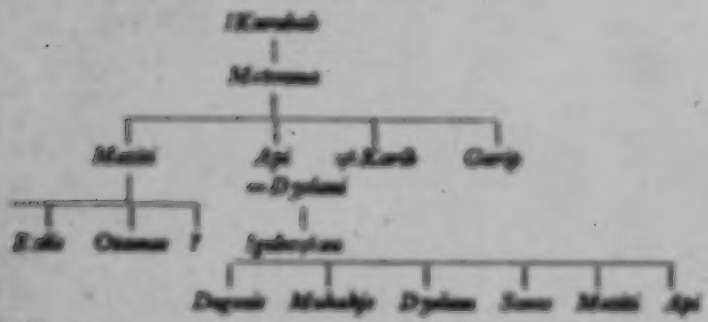
old Ruys, the eldest son of gaiy !kwiqi, a drunkard and no'er-do-well. Was he the same as Uvoß? (iii) the unnamed daughter of gaiy !kwiqi and Outamas, who, according to the Berichte, was not the mother of gaiy !kwiqi's sons.

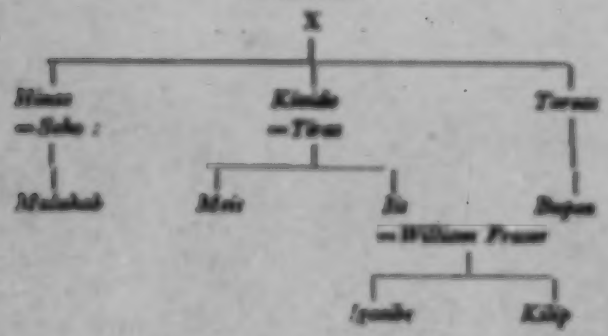
GENEALOGY OF TABAS

Hahnenop's Dutch name was given to me as "Frans Viljoen." He must therefore be the same Frans Viljoen, "de Korana Kapitein" mentioned by Moffatson as being under him, to the two Free State missionaries Schoonhoge and Meyer when they visited him in 1839 (*Bor. Bor.* ii. p. 309). This is confirmed by the fact that *Tabas's* birthplace was Smokal, near the then Basutoland border.

GENEALOGY OF *MATITI* AND *!GOBO-XA*



GENEALOGY OF *MEIS* AND *IIS*



11: Malinguard Q-9 (1931-1932) 1931
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VIII. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KOREAN TRIBAL NAMES.

[illegible](1)	[illegible](2)	[illegible](3)	[illegible](4)
1. [illegible]	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	
2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
6. [illegible]			[illegible]
7.	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8.	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9.	1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11.	1 [illegible]		
12.		[illegible]	
13.			[illegible]
14.	[illegible]		

(1) G.M., ii. 113, 118, 120, 126, 128, 130. Date: 1778-1779.
(2) In Minden. See Minute Recommendation in S.W. Affairs, p. 10. Date: 1813.
(3) 1813, p. after-dates without names are left out in the above list.
(4) Historical information: Tabak, Frank, Khan, &c. They did not give any more names, except the author, the Surveyor or tribe of Burnett, the Unique chief.

11: Maingard Q-S (1931-1932) 1932
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GA The geographical position of some of the northern Korana tribes in the 19th century has already been indicated in the preceding pages, viz. The " Taaibosch " or *Kai !kwena* at Sekwaniaw Rendez and at Umpukani ; the " Links " or *//aewag //ais* at Bloemhof ; The " Springboks " or *//ab //aihwa* at Potchefstroom. It must be remembered, as has already been pointed out elsewhere (" The Last Tribes of the Cape," *South African Journal of Science*, 1931 p. 493), that these geographical points are merely centres round which the tribes wandered.

The " Cat " tribe or *//khey //aihwa* got involved with Jan Bloem and some are still to be found near Potchefstroom (cp. Meinhof, op. cit. p. 5). An official map of the Potchefstroom region, " in the Government Office at Bloemfontein," published by H. Green, the British resident, and by F. K. Hohne, the Government Secretary, places, for the period 1840-1850, the " Hoogmanders " or *!kwriq//ais* ; the " Seekoes " or *!kwa //aihwa* and the " Skorpioens " or *//khq//aihwa* in the immediate vicinity of Potchefstroom and Gotlieb Taverbek, the chief of the " Right Hand " tribe, at Platberg.[1]

The tribes 1-3 in the table are more properly the *Kyakkhwa* or "River folk " of Wikar. Campbell included them in his " Different Tribes of Coranas on the Great River." This because the practice later, for they are called officially Koranas in the Government Reports on Sir Walter Currie's campaign against them in 1868-1869, when " Koranaland " was created, and again in 1878-1879, when they were practically annihilated. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G. 61-79). Even in 1875, their numbers were very small. D. Hook, Special Commissioner at Kenhardt, reported that there were only 120 to 140 under the two chiefs Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs C.A. 19.75 p. 52-53).

This table is also of philological interest. It is a testimony to the disfigurement suffered by the Korana names in the attempt to transcribe them with inadequate phonetic symbols. Wikar renders the clicks with *h* and has no indication before *a*, *e* and *h* ; Alberchi with *t'h* or *t'q*, etc., being probably inspired here by Sparrman's or Lichtenstein's *t'*. Campbell, whose transcription and perhaps hearing of all Native words is extremely imperfect, has mangled beyond hope even the Dutch names, for he does not attempt the Korana ones.

Finally, it should be noted here that *//ais* means " tribe " ; *//aihwa* is its plural form and *-kwa* is the plural mas. suffix.

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[1] Imperial Blue Book. C. 508-'72, Map facing p. 56.

Rhodesiana Ø-S (1911-1912) 1912
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[Facing p. 152]

This map illustrates only the general direction of the migrations. It is impossible to indicate the to and fro movements of the tribes, e.g. those of the Lieba between Senn and Nieuweland. It is noteworthy that the lines of migration follow the rivers, the Korana being a pastoral people.